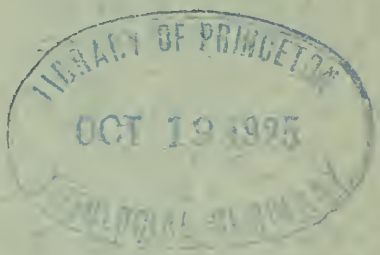
E. L. Hicks

Judith and Holofernes

With the author's compliments.

JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES



BY

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JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES.

Among the books of the Apocrypha two portions stand out in strong relief as bearing the marks of genius. One is the Book of Wisdom, with its sustained moral fervour and luxuriant yet devout fancy; the other, the noble tragedy of the Book of Judith. The latter work has the further interest of presenting a curious literary problem. Is 'Judith' in any sense history, or even based on history, or is it mere romance? Certainly the writer takes great liberties with facts. Time and place have to yield to the requirements of the narrative. Famous names are mingled together in extraordinary combinations. Nebuchadnezzar reigns over the Assyrians at Nineveh; and he reigns soon after the Jewish return from Captivity. An Arphaxad rules at Ecbatane as king of the Medes. An unknown high priest Joachim is supreme at Jerusalem. The book opens moreover with a catalogue of nations brought under this Nebuchadnezzar's sway; and the list teems with contradictions of history and even of probability.

I.

Learned opinion since the time of Grotius[1] has been almost unanimous in pronouncing the book to be an historical romance, of the time of the Maccabees or later, wherein the writer sets forth in parable the hopes and fears of his nation, and stirs up his countrymen to heroic resistance to the oppressor. Opinion has been more divided concerning the precise date of its composition. Dr. Westcott would assign it to the reign of Antiochus

[1] *Prolegomena in lib. Judith*; similarly Mr. Churton, in his recent *Uncanonical and Apocryphal Scriptures.*

Epiphanes.[1] Volkmar saw in it an allusion to Trajan's Parthian wars.[2] Ewald's masterly acquaintance with later Jewish history led him to fix upon one particular crisis as suggesting the composition of the book.[3] That moment came when Demetrius II. surnamed Nicator (king B.C. 146–138, and 128–125), after first invading and conquering Parthia, had then himself been taken prisoner, and finally after ten years' captivity, had re-established himself upon the Syrian throne. In vain did the Parthian king endeavour to crush him. His hopes grew with his successes. He meditated the invasion of Egypt. He was bent upon recovering for Syria all that he and his predecessors had lost. To the medley of cities and populations which made up the Syrian Empire this reappearance of Demetrius must have brought the extremes of hope and fear. It unsettled everything for years to come. What if his wild schemes of conquest should be successful, and carry change and revolution far and wide? To the Jews and their Elders under John the high priest, it must have been a time of great alarm.[4] They had almost forgotten the horrors of the reign of Epiphanes; they had recovered from their resistance to Demetrius Soter. The fierce heroism which had preserved them in those awful days had left a reaction behind it. Their energies had become relaxed; and years of unbroken peace left them unprepared for the danger that seemed now to threaten. The book of Judith (so Ewald suggests) concentrates the fears and dangers of this crisis into the form of an historical romance. The narrative is prophetic, symbolical; an allegory of the Jewish people, and of the possibilities of Jewish patriotism, if in the hour of uttermost calamity it were true to the national faith, true to the Mosaic covenant. To Israel, if penitent and believing, God's promise still was stedfast, that 'one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.'[5]

The names employed in the story do but slightly veil the personality of the principal figures. Nebuchadnezzar, the proud and mighty tyrant, whose throne (in defiance of all historical facts) is placed at Nineveh after the Jewish Return,—who plans

[1] *Dictionary of the Bible, s.v.* Judith.

[2] See Winer's *Realwörterbuch, s.v.*

[3] *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, iv. p. 618, foll.

[4] Ewald, *Geschichte*, iv. p. 451.

[5] Deuteronomy xxxii. 30.

ambitious schemes of conquest, and is enraged when the vassal peoples refuse the help he demands for his war against 'Arphaxad, king of the Medes,'—who determines therefore not only to destroy Arphaxad, but to reduce to submission all the countries round about,—he is Demetrius Nicator, as he appeared to the excited imagination of a Hebrew patriot. By the Biblical term 'Medes' the writer signified the Parthians; while the similar sounding name Arphaxad is borrowed from Genesis[1] to indicate the dynasty of the Arsacidæ. The name of Joachim with his friends at Jerusalem scarcely veils the person of John Maccabeus and the national council. Slight as the writer's regard may be for historical facts, the whole book is true to the spirit of the time. The entire career of Demetrius, his early victories over Parthia, his long exile, his final recovery of the throne, are all gathered up into one point, and he figures as an ambitious, overbearing tyrant. The danger of the Jewish people in the presence of his power, and the need of primitive piety and even more than primitive courage to ward it off, are thrown into dramatic form in the expedition of Holofernes, the invasion of Palestine, the heroic design and victorious deliverance of Judith. And Judith herself is, what her name implies, 'the daughter of Judah,' the people of Israel, the spouse of Jehovah. A widow she is, but beautiful to look upon, and as pious as she is fair; like Jerusalem, bereaved of her ancient glories, yet still not lost to hope. Another Deborah, she will arise 'a mother in Israel,' to encourage the people of God; like Jael, she will slay the enemy of God in the tent; another Miriam, she breaks forth into singing at the discomfiture of the hosts of the aliens.

Such, in brief, is the combination suggested by Ewald. Perhaps the great German scholar goes too far in attempting so minutely to fix the date of the book. It may be urged that Demetrius II. was not so terrible to the Jews as this view of the case implies. His restored reign lasted four years at most; and all the time he was harassed by conspiracies and rebellions. We do not hear of his taking any action against the Jews. We might think the sending out of Holofernes bears more resemblance to the expedition of Nicanor under Demetrius Soter,[2] which was so gloriously defeated by Judas Maccabeus. The

[1] xi. 12.

[2] 1 Maccabees vii.

recollection of that victory must, one would think, have been fresh in the memory of the writer of Judith. One name at all events there is in the book which is not Jewish, and was unlikely to be known to Jewish ears; but which connects the authorship with the recollections of the reign of Demetrius I.,—this is the name of the second figure of the tragedy, Holofernes. The name is found nowhere outside the dynasty of Cappadocia. And the most famous prince of the name was a well-known friend of Demetrius I., the features of whose character, so far as we know them, agree with the portraiture of Holofernes.

This coincidence has not escaped the attention of Ewald;[1] the first readers of the book of Judith (he argues) would inevitably be struck by the name Holofernes, and would think of the friend of Demetrius Soter, and thereby would have a clue to the symbolical meaning of the whole story.

Before I had come across Ewald's remarks, or indeed had read any criticism of the book of Judith, I had been led to a similar conviction concerning its origin; but I reached the same goal with Ewald by a very different route. It is to my own starting point that I ask leave now to transport the reader.

II.

Upon a certain spring morning, about Easter 1765, three travellers might have been seen toiling along the slopes of Mount Mycalè in Asia Minor, under the guidance of a Greek peasant at whose house they had slept the night before in the Turkish village of Kelebesh. After an hour's climb they reach the citadel of the ancient Ionian city of Prienè. One of the party is Richard Chandler, a young Oxford scholar in his twenty-seventh year, who has been sent into Greece by the Society of Dilettanti on a mission of archæological discovery. His companions are Revett, the architect—well-known afterwards as the collaborateur of 'Athenian' Stuart in editing the *Antiquities of Athens*,—and M. Pars, a young artist. Chandler's book of travels gives a charming narrative of his tour, and from it we may take his account of this morning's trip.[2]

[1] *Ibid.* p. 621, *note.*

[2] Chandler's *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece*, edited by N. Revett, Esq., vol. i. pp. 199, foll.

'Our guide led us first through the village up to the acropolis or citadel; the ascent lasting an hour, the track bad, by breaks in the mountain and small cascades. We then arrived on a summit of Mycalè, large, distinct, and rough, with stunted trees and deserted cottages, encircled, except toward the plain, by an ancient wall. This had been repaired, and made tenable in a later age by additional outworks. A steep, high, naked rock rises behind; and the area terminates before in a most abrupt and formidable precipice, from which we looked down with wonder on the diminutive objects beneath us. The massive heap of a temple below appeared to the naked eye but as chippings of marble.' That heap was the ruined temple of Athenè Polias at Prienè.

This building is one of the few Greek temples of which the precise date is fixed by written testimony. One of the marble blocks which formed the entrance is inscribed with the following words in large, handsome characters: 'Alexander dedicated this temple to Athenè Polias.'[1] We are left in no doubt as to who is meant by 'Alexander.' Apart from other indications which are decisive, there is a story quoted by Strabo from an earlier historian, that when Alexander the Great visited Ephesus after his first victory over the Persians at the river Granicus, he found the Ephesians rebuilding their famous temple, which the insane ambition of Herostratus had burned down on the night of Alexander's birth. It was now nearly complete when Alexander offered to defray the entire cost of it upon condition that he might inscribe his name upon it as the dedicator. The Ephesians adroitly veiled their refusal under the flattering plea that 'it was not proper for a god to dedicate temples to the gods.'[2] The Prienians, more obsequious or perhaps less wealthy, must have accepted a similar offer from the conqueror, whose dedication was the first inscription engraved upon the newly erected walls. This interesting marble may be seen any day in the Mausoleum Room in the British Museum.

[1] Böckh's *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 2904: Βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος ἀνέθηκε τὸν ναὸν Ἀθηναίῃ Πολιάδι. Compare Droysen, *Hellenismus*, i. 1, p. 202.

[2] Strabo, xiv. p. 640: Ἀλέξανδρον δὴ τοῖς Ἐφεσίοις ὑποσχέσθαι τὰ γεγονότα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἀναλώματα, ἐφ' ᾧ τε τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν αὐτὸν ἔχειν, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ἐθελῆσαι . . . ἐπαινεῖ τε (ὁ Ἀρτεμίδωρος) τὸν εἰπόντα τῶν Ἐφεσίων πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς οὐ πρέποι θεῷ θεοὺς ἀναθήματα παρασκευάζειν.

Chandler proceeds to describe his descent by a winding path down the precipice to the city: 'The steps cut in the rock were narrow, the path frequently not wider than the body, and so steep as scarcely to allow a footing. The sun shone full upon us, and was reverberated by the rugged side of the mountain to which we leaned, avoiding as much as possible the frightful view of the abyss beneath us, and shrinking from the brink. The long-continued descent made the whole frame quiver.' It would seem that Chandler was an indifferent mountaineer; and indeed his biographer bluntly describes him as 'round, and considerably below the standard' in height.[1] But he was a splendid scholar, whose services to Greek learning have not yet been sufficiently recognised.[2] Arrived at the temple-site below, the three travellers proceeded to examine the ruins; these lay around in picturesque confusion, bare of any covering of earth, just as they had fallen centuries before, perhaps shaken down by an earthquake. Chandler made memoranda, and copied inscriptions; Revett measured and took notes of the architectural remains; Pars, the artist, made sketches of the scene. The results of their labour may be found in Part i. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*, published in 1769, giving views of the locality, descriptions and plates of the architecture, and copies of several inscriptions. When we remember that these ruins contained the tolerably complete remains of a temple which, though small, was one of the finest specimens of Ionic architecture in existence, it is almost incredible that over a century was allowed to pass before any attempt was made to explore the ruins, and to recover and preserve from among them the most important relics of art which there lay hid.

In the winter of 1868 the same Society, which had sent out Chandler and Revett, at length commissioned Mr. Pullan to go out and explore the ruins. Excavation there needed none. The moving of the huge blocks of marble, the packing and transporting of fragments of statuary, architecture and inscriptions, this was all that was required; and it was done with due

[1] Biography by Archdeacon Churton, prefixed to the *Travels*.

[2] It has often fallen to my task to verify the readings of Greek inscriptions previously edited by Chandler, and I have seldom found his copy to require any alteration, whether in the way of addition or correction.

skill and care. The marbles were shipped to England, and now form part of the treasures of the British Museum. The chief results of Mr. Pullan's researches are given in Part iv. of the *Antiquities of Ionia*.

I have been assured by Mr. C. T. Newton, who visited Prienè in 1869 and 1870, as a member of the Society of Dilettanti, that when the site had been cleared by Mr. Pullan, the ruin was still very beautiful. The more interesting indeed of the sculptured marbles had been removed, and nearly all the inscribed blocks. But their removal had relieved the site of much that merely encumbered it. The platform was now clear; and the marble pavement of the temple, in good preservation, was free of rubbish. The lower portions of the walls and of many columns were standing in their original position, and made it easy for the beholder to reconstruct in fancy the ancient proportions of the building. On the floor of the pavement there still remained the lower courses of the pedestal, upon which had stood the image of Athena herself, a statue of which the traveller Pausanias (in the second century A.D.) records his admiration:[1] 'You would be charmed with the temple of Athenè at Prienè in particular, on account of her statue.' In front of the pedestal a semicircular groove in the pavement on either side marked the position of the barrier, or screen, with its metallic gates, which forbad the approach of intruding steps. All this, and more, was still there, as Mr. Pullan's photographs and plans testify to those who had not the good fortune to see the ruin in 1870.[2]

It is sad to think that the intelligent interest shown in a ruin by Western archaeologists has usually the effect of hastening its utter destruction. No sooner had the English explorers bidden farewell to Prienè, than the stonemasons of the nearest Greek village established themselves among the ruins, and began to work up into doorsteps, or tombstones, those beautiful marble blocks which had been shaped and dressed by the Greek workmen of Alexander's age. The temple ruins became now a convenient quarry. In particular

[1] Pausanias, vii. 5, § 3: ἡσθείης δ' ἂν καὶ τῷ ἐν Ἐρυθραῖς Ἡρακλείῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ἐν Πριήνῃ ναῷ, τούτῳ μὲν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἕνεκα, Ἡρακλείῳ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[2] See the interesting account of Prienè and the beautiful views given by Rayet et Thomas, *Milet et le Golfe Latmique*, Paris, 1877–1880.

the large blocks which composed the ancient pedestal of the goddess were one by one dislodged from their place; and within a few months only four of them remained in their ancient position in the centre of the pedestal.[1]

On a Saturday in April 1870, Mr. A. O. Clarke, an Englishman residing in the neighbourhood, paid a visit to the ruins. They were not new to him, as twelve months before he had been there and had carefully examined the work then progressing under the guidance of Mr. Newton and Mr. Pullan. At this second visit he was accompanied by his wife and niece; and upon entering within the temple ruins, he noticed at once the work of destruction which had begun upon the pedestal. While he stood amid its upturned blocks, his eye was caught by a coin lying at his feet. He at once picked it up, and cleansed it; and found it to be of silver, and inscribed with the name of Orophernes. The idea then struck him that the coin had been turned up from under the marbles of the pedestal; and he conceived the wish to remove and examine the four blocks which still remained *in situ*. Two masons at work among the ruins were soon employed at the task; their crowbars soon removed the first stone of the four, and under it was found a silver coin similar to the one already picked up. A second stone was dislodged, with a similar result. The removal of the other two blocks brought no more coins to light; but under them were found portions of a golden chaplet of olive leaves, and other objects of value. A search among the rubbish for more coins was attended with no further success, although two or three Greeks from Kelebesh, who had come to Priené to see Mr. Clarke, joined in the task; while some Yuruks from the hill side, attracted by the good luck of the Franks whom they saw examining the ruins, all joined in the general search. At length Mr. Clarke and his party went away, with the three coins and other objects.[2]

[1] M. Rayet says (*ibid.* vol. ii. p. 2) that as late as 1874 he proposed to the authorities of the Louvre to secure for the French nation various architectural fragments of great beauty even then remaining amid the ruins. His suggestion received no attention, and most of the marbles he spoke of are now destroyed.

[2] These details we learn from the letter of Mr. Clarke himself to Gen. Fox, published by Mr. C. T. Newton in his paper 'On an inedited Tetradrachm of Orophernes II.,' in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, New Series, xi. p. 19.

This happened on the Saturday. The next day being Sunday, all the inhabitants of Kelebesh, men, women, and children, sallied forth to Prienè, bent on the discovery of treasure. So sure were they that it was to be found, that two Jews followed them, armed with a free supply of ready cash to purchase any bargains that might be turned up. The ruined temple was thus handed over to a rapacious mob. Pickaxe, lever, crowbar were brought to work, to upturn, to dislodge, to thrust aside whatever might be thought to conceal treasures. The search, so insanely attempted, had no other result than to spoil the beauty of the ruins; nothing whatever was found. On the Monday following, however, the Greek masons who had assisted Mr. Clarke, in looking over the rubbish near the pedestal, found a further fragment of a gold chaplet, and two more coins like the others, making five in all. A sixth was subsequently purchased by Mr. Newton at Prienè, but was unfortunately lost.

One of these coins, which were in excellent preservation, is now in the British Museum, and is photographed in Mr. Head's *Coins of the Ancients*, Plate 51, No. 23. It is a silver tetradrachm (the equivalent of a four-franc piece), and is described in numismatic terms as follows:—

Obverse.—Male head to right, beardless, and bound with a fillet.

Reverse.—ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΟΡΟΦΕΡΝΟΥ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ (King Orophernes the victorious). The legend surrounds a figure of Victory moving to left, and clad in a tunic that reaches her feet; she holds in her right hand a wreath, in her left a palm branch. In front of her is an owl standing on an altar, perhaps in allusion to the goddess Athenè.

Who is this Orophernes?

It is beyond question that the prince who struck these coins is Orophernes II., King of Cappadocia. He was brought into singular relations with the city of Prienè, and his adventures made a deep impression upon the political world of his day. The historian Polybius appears to have related them with much detail. He was a contemporary of Orophernes, and was living at Rome when the disputes about the Cappadocian succession were being discussed in the senate, and he was fully acquainted with the intrigues that were going on respecting it among the

leading Roman politicians. Unhappily a great part of his narrative is extant only in extracts and fragments. But I think it evident that all the statements about Orophernes in Diodorus Siculus and others, came straight from Polybius, and may therefore be fully believed.

We are told that Antiochis, the wife of Ariarathes IV., King of Cappadocia, disappointed at having no heir, imposed upon her husband two pretended sons, of whom this Orophernes was one. Some years later, however, she gave birth to a legitimate heir, who afterwards succeeded his father as Ariarathes V. Upon the birth of her child, Antiochis confessed to her husband the true facts of the case, and arranged to exclude the two other princes from the succession. One of them upon a convenient pretext was despatched to Rome, and seems never to have been heard of afterwards. The other, Orophernes, was sent into Ionia, where he was brought up amid surroundings of ease and luxury, which seemed likely to stifle any aspirations to the Cappadocian throne.[1] Ariarathes V. accordingly succeeded his father B.C. 162. But at once Orophernes came forth from retirement as a pretender to the throne; his claim being supported by the Syrian monarch Demetrius Soter, who had a personal grudge against Ariarathes for refusing his sister in marriage.[2] It is also said that Demetrius accepted large gifts and larger promises from his *protégé*. The result was that Ariarathes was driven from his kingdom, and Orophernes enthroned in his place, B.C. 158.[3] Ariarathes, who is described as an excellent and cultivated prince, hastened to Rome to lay his grievances before the senate; and he was followed thither by envoys from Demetrius Soter, and also from Orophernes. The latter sent valuable presents to Rome, and endeavoured to secure interest in every possible way. Polybius was at Rome at the time, and the account he gives of these transactions is not creditable to Roman diplomacy.[4] The case of Ariarathes was a good one; but he stood alone, and perhaps had not, when coming to Rome, 'put money in his purse.' The envoys of Demetrius lied without scruple. Orophernes made interest by his gifts. The result was such as might be expected—an

[1] Athen. x. 440, expressly citing Polybius as his authority; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 28.

[2] Justin, xxxv. 1; Appian, *Syr.* 47.

[3] Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

[4] Polyb. xxxii. 20.

unworkable compromise. Ariarathes was restored,[1] but not to an undivided rule. Orophernes was to have a share in the kingdom, the territory of Cappadocia being perhaps divided between them.[2] This happened B.C. 157. The unnatural scheme did not last long. From the first there began to be disputes between the two kings, ending in the final expulsion of Orophernes amid the execration of his subjects, whom he had alienated by avaricious extortion to gratify his own indulgence, and to reward his patrons.[3]

Certainly Polybius, who knew the facts, described the character of Orophernes in no pleasing terms. Brought up in Ionia, an exile and a pretender, he early developed the vices of an adventurer. In public life he was unscrupulous; as a ruler, selfish and extortionate; in private, a hard drinker. His portrait on the coins is finely modelled, and does not conflict with this view of his character. It is the portrait of a handsome, clever, and capable man, young in years, but not in experience of the world. His chin is unbearded, but his forehead is lined with care. The fine profile bespeaks a resolute will and energetic purpose. The nostril is delicately moulded, and, like the mouth, suggests a nature sensitive to pleasure though refined in taste; but the lower lip has a sensual expression, and there is a certain restlessness and impatience marked upon the whole face, which suits well with his chequered career.[4]

I reserve to the last the curious episode in the life of Orophernes, which connects him with Prienè. Upon gaining the crown in 158 B.C., in the true spirit of a pretender, he deposited 400 talents (about £100,000) with the Prienians, as something to fall back upon if fortune forsook him.[5] This sum they deposited doubtless in their temple of Athenè; for the temples of antiquity were often so employed, as the safest banks of deposit. His selection of Prienè for this purpose may have had something to do with his Ionian experiences. Prienè was quite a small and unimportant place;[6] but it had

[1] Livy, *Epit.* 47; Polyb. iii. 5.

[2] Appian, *Syr.* 47; Polyb. xxxiii. 12: μετέλαβε τῆς ἀρχῆς.

[3] Polyb. xxxiii. 12 *a*; Athen. x. 440 *b*; Aelian, *Var. Hist.* ii. 41; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

[4] Head, *Coins of the Ancients*, plate 51, fig. 23.

[5] Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 4.

[6] Aeschines, *De Falsa Leg.* p. 286.

contrived to maintain a creditable position for independence among all the vicissitudes of these troubled times.[1] Perhaps it was considered at this period to be attached to the Syrian monarchy; possibly Orophernes had lived there in his exile. At all events, by becoming guardians of this treasure, the Prienians drew upon themselves the attention of all Greece. For Ariarathes V. no sooner regained possession of his kingdom than he demanded the money for himself. Orophernes, he contended, had placed it there in his capacity as king; and therefore the money should be restored to the royal exchequer. The contemporary world argued the question *pro* and *con*, as a point of casuistry. The Prienians declined to restore the deposit to any one, except to Orophernes, while he lived. Polybius frankly says, they did quite right. Upon their refusal, Ariarathes invaded the Prienian territory, with the assistance of the King of Pergamon, pillaging and slaying all they could find, up to the very walls of Prienè. Despairing of deliverance, yet firm in their refusal, the Prienians appealed to Rhodes, and then to the Roman senate.[2] Of the subsequent details of the controversy we are not fully informed. We should know more, if an inscription now in the British Museum,[3] which was engraved upon the walls of the Prienian temple, were still complete. In its fragmentary state we can but decipher the names of 'Orophernes,' 'King Attalus and King Ariarathes;' we read of certain treasures deposited 'by Orophernes in the temple of Athenè,' of 'the siege of the city,' 'the carrying off of cattle and slaves,' and of an appeal to 'the senate.' Polybius merely affirms that the Prienians held fast to their deposit, and finally surrendered it to Orophernes himself.

We need not pursue further his adventures. We are told that when it suited him he afterwards joined in the coalition which crushed Demetrius, thus 'biting the hand that had fed him.' His end is unrecorded. It is clear that the coins found by Mr. Clarke must have been struck by Orophernes when first he became King of Cappadocia, B.C. 158. It is observed that

[1] Reference may be made to an article on this subject in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, iv. p. 237.

[2] Polyb. xxxiii. 12; Diod. Sic. xxxi. 43.

[3] It will appear as No. ccccxxiv. of the *Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, of which Part 3 is now in the press.

they bear no resemblance to the other coinage of the Cappadocian dynasty, but correspond to the style and the standard of the Ionian coinage of the period.[1] It is suggested that, having been educated in Ionia, he preferred the more refined style of Ionian art, and may have employed the mint of Priené to strike these very coins: this would account for the owl on the reverse. The shortness of his reign partly accounts for the circumstance that no other of his coins have ever yet been found. What few pieces he did circulate, would of course be suppressed by Ariarathes, upon his recovering the sole authority. It is not necessary to suppose that the six coins discovered under the stones of the pedestal, were part of the deposit of 400 talents. It is a far more probable conjecture that Orophernes, after receiving back his deposit, dedicated the pedestal and the statue upon it to Athenè Polias, by way of recompense to the Prienians for the losses they had sustained in guarding the treasure. Accordingly, in erecting the pedestal, he had certain of his coins placed between the marble courses.[2]

In editing the inscriptions brought by Mr. Pullan from Priené, it fell to my task to study closely the history of Orophernes; and it was impossible not to ask myself, 'Has this adventurous prince anything to do with the Holofernes of Judith?' The closer I scanned the situation of contemporary politics, and realised the attitude of the Jews towards the movements going on in Syria, the clearer it seemed that the Cappadocian prince whom Demetrius Soter had made his tool, might easily have been known by name to the Jews as the friend of their great enemy; and the conviction thus became irresistible that the author of Judith could hardly have learned the alien name Holofernes through any other channel than this, and therefore that the date of the book cannot be earlier, and is probably not much later, than B.C. 150.

Thus we arrive at much the same result as Ewald, though by a very different path. The latest results of Greek archaeology curiously illustrate, and so far confirm, the views of the great literary critic. There may be many who will be glad to be

[1] See the remarks of Mr. Newton, in the Memoir above cited.

[2] Fragments of the colossal statue are now preserved in the British Museum; see Mr. Newton's remarks in the *Numismatic Chronicle* just cited; also in Part iv. of *Antiquities of Ionia*, p. 25.

introduced to the historical personality, and even to the actual features of the contemporary prince, whose name and fame lent themselves to the service of the author of the book of Judith.[1]

[1] The name is properly Orophernes (*Ὀροφέρνης*), being so written on the coins and in the inscription from Prienè, as well as in Polybius, Aelian, and Athenaeus. Diodorus Siculus appears to fluctuate between *Ὀροφέρνης* and *Ὀλοφέρνης*. Probably the Aramaic original of Judith spelt the name with *l* for *r*. The aspirate may be regarded as a mere corruption, arising from a recollection of compounds in *ὁλο-*.

E. L. Hicks.